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Jim Martin

Factoring out Exchange: Types of Structure

1. Orientation

In this paper I will address two disjunctions which have arisen in Australian work on dialogue within the framework of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). One is the **conative/expressive** disjunction which has distinguished studies of interaction in dialogue (move and exchange) from studies of evaluative meaning (appraisal) – Ventola (1987) vs Coffin (1997) for example. The other is the **pragmatic/casual** disjunction which has differentiated studies of interaction in relatively formal institutionalised settings (e.g. service encounters, classroom discourse) from studies of casual conversation (e.g. chat, gossip) – Hasan (1977) vs Eggins and Slade (1997) for example. Here I will try to rework these disjunctions as complementarities, drawing on Halliday’s (1979) association of metafunctions with types of structure to do so.

2. Types of Structure

Basically Halliday’s suggestion is that language has evolved functional resources to construe three orders of reality. Ideational resources construe the world as we think we see it; interpersonal resources construe social relations as we enact them; and textual resources map these construals onto one another as digestible bites of information.

According to Halliday, ideational resources are associated with **particulate** forms of realisation – they naturalise reality as bits and pieces. The particles may be organised orbitally, into configurations consisting of a nucleus, margin and periphery (experiential meaning); or they may be organised serially, into chains of interdependent steps (logical meaning). This orbital/serial complementarity is exemplified below for transitivity and projection respectively (following Halliday (1994), Matthiessen (1995); examples throughout the paper are adapted from the film *Educating Rita* unless otherwise noted):

orbital structure

You would have thrown it across the room...

MARGIN (AGENT)	NUCLEUS (PROCESS)...	...(MEDIUM)	PERIPHERY (LOCATION)
You	would have thrown	it	across the room

serial structure

Willie Russell wrote that Rita said that Trish thought the poetry was brilliant.

VERBAL PROCESS	" LOCUTION	" LOCUTION	" IDEA
Willie Russell wrote	that Rita said	that Trish thought	the poetry was brilliant

Interpersonal resources on the other hand are associated with **prosodic** forms of realisation – they enact social reality as splashes of engagement, which saturate their domain. This is exemplified below for English polarity, which establishes the arguability of its interact and at the same time conditions the realisation of any indefinite deixis within its scope (perhaps more strikingly so in the stigmatised non-standard realisation *I can't bear nothing from no-one no longer*):

prosodic structure

I can't bear anything from anyone any longer.

	NEGATIVE...		...NEG.		...NEG.
I	can't	bear	anything	from anyone	any longer

Finally, textual resources are associated with **periodic** forms of realisation – they organise semiotic reality as waves of information (the rhythm of discourse). This culminative patterning is exemplified below for Theme and New; Theme choices construct the speaker's angle on his field (in this case someone's poetry), while choices for New elaborate the point of the discourse (in this case the value of the Themes):

periodic structure

It is brilliant. It's it's witty, it's profound, full of style.

THEME		New
It	is	brilliant
It	's	witty
It	's	profound
(it)	's	full of style

A summary of these types of structure and their association with modes of meaning (Halliday's metafunctions) is presented as Fig. 1. For further discussion of this reading of Halliday in relation to grammar and discourse see Martin (1995a, 1998).

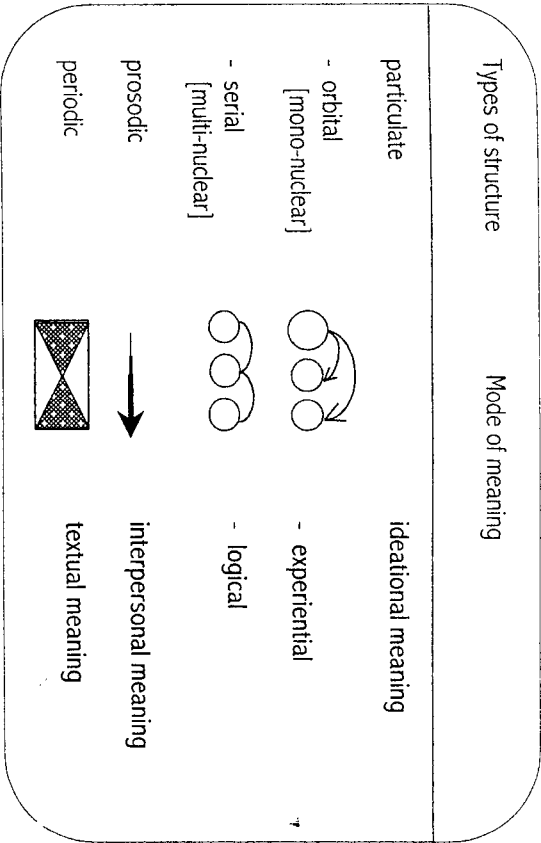


Fig. 1: Types of structure in relation to modes of meaning

3. Exchange Structure

Berry (1981a, b) proposes a model of exchange structure which draws on Halliday's metafunctions and is organised around layers of interpersonal, textual and ideational structure. Her interpersonal tier, as developed in Ventola (1987) and Martin (1992), will be taken as point of departure here.

Ventola's structure potential for exchanges negotiating goods and services is outlined below. Minimally it consists of an obligatory A1 move by the primary actor (who is responsible for giving goods, performing a service, or promising to do so). Additional moves allow for a demanding A2 move by the secondary actor (who is receiving goods or benefiting from services), and if that is present, an additional Dal move by the primary actor delaying the proffer of goods and services until a go-ahead is given by the secondary actor. In addition the structure potential allows for optional follow-up moves by the secondary and primary actors. An example of a five move exchange, initiated by the primary actor, is presented below:

((Da1) ^ A2) ^ A1 ^ (A2f ^ (A1f))
[D 'delay'; A 'actor'; 1 'primary'; 2 'secondary'; f 'follow-up']
Dal [Rita]: Do you want to lend it? offer

A2 [Frank]: Ah yes. accept
 A1 [Rita]: Here. proffer
 A2f [Frank]: Yes. Well, thank-you very much. thank
 A1f [Rita]: That's okay. acknowledge thanks

The structure potential for exchanges negotiating information is parallel, although involving knowers instead of actors. The primary knower is the interactant responsible for adjudicating the polarity and modality of the information at stake; the secondary knower is the receiver of that authority. An example of a five move exchange, initiated by the primary knower, is presented below (this is the 'text' question sequencing of pedagogic discourse and quiz shows, in which primary knowers ask questions they must adjudicate the answer to):

(DK1) ^ K2 ^ K1 ^ (K2f ^ (K1f))
 [D 'delay'; K 'knower'; 1 'primary'; 2 'secondary'; f 'follow-up']

Dk1 [Frank]: What's assonance then? 'test' question
 K2 [Rita]: A form of rhyme? suggest answer
 K1 [Frank]: Right. validate
 K2f [Rita]: Yeah. confirm
 K1f [Frank]: Yeah. reconfirm

Developing Berry (1981a, b) and Burton (1981), Ventola and Martin propose two types of potential interruption to the formula presented above. One type involves tracking moves which attempt to clarify the ideational content of a preceding move before developing the exchange; these may occur at any point in the exchange where such *clarification* is warranted:

Dal [Frank]: Would you like a drink? request clarification
 cl [Rita]: What of? clarify
 rel [Frank]: Whisky.
 A2 [Rita]: Oh yeah.
 A1f [Frank]: [NV Frank gets drink]
 K2 [Frank]: What is your name? request clarification
 cl [Rita]: Me first name?
 rel [Frank]: Yes.¹ clarify
 K1 [Rita]: Rita.

The other type involves *challenging* moves which resist resolution of the exchange, because one of the knowers or actors is uncomfortable with the way the exchange is interpersonally positioning them:

¹ Frank actually says, sarcastically, "Well that would at least constitute some sort of start, wouldn't it?"

A2 [Rita]: Aren't you supposed to be interviewing me?
 ch [Frank]: Do I need to?
 [Rita]: Oh, I talk too much, don't I? Yes, I know, I talk a lot...

K2 [Rita]: What does assonance mean? challenge
 ch [Frank]: [laughing] What? response to challenge
 rch [Rita]: Don't laugh at me. response to rch
 rrch [Frank]: Ah no.
 K1 Assonance, it's a form of rhyme.

Ventola and Martin propose a form of constituency representation for moves generated by the structure potentials outlined above, alongside a form of dependency representation for the more contingent tracking and challenging moves which may frustrate these potentials. For reasons of space, neither this complementarity of structural representations, nor Berry's suggestions for additional ideational and textual layers of structure will be considered further here.

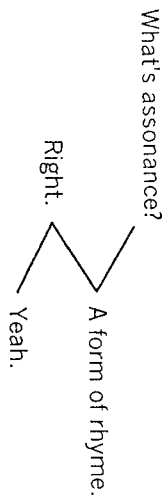
4. Types of Structure in the Exchange – Another Look

What is of interest here is the presence of particulate, periodic and prosodic motifs in exchanges such as those outlined above. The presence of a single obligatory move in Berry's formula is indicative of orbital structure, with the K1 or A1 move as nucleus; the optional D/Ak1, K/A2, K/A2f and K/A1f moves could then be treated as dependent satellites. A crude representation for this kind of structural configuration is offered below for a Dk1 K2 K1 K2f exchange:

Dk1 [Frank]: What's assonance then? 'test' question
 K2 [Rita]: A form of rhyme? suggest answer
 K1 [Frank]: Right. validate
 K2f [Rita]: Yeah. confirm

What's assonance? · A form of rhyme. · Right. · Yeah.

Alternatively, this time from the perspective of turn taking, the same exchange could be viewed as a serial chaining structure involving interdependent turns at talk – with interlocutors responding to preceding moves (a structure more akin to Berry's ai ^ bi ^ aii ^ bii ... an ^ bn formula).



At the same time, a similar exchange might be viewed as a wave of information, with all but one missing piece of information provided in the opening move; the missing information is then supplied in the second move, and confirmed as what the teacher was looking for in the third. Informationally, the amount of ideational content in the moves declines throughout the exchange², ultimately resolving perhaps in paralinguistic interaction (gaze, facial expression, body language) which has not been included in the analysis. Typically, the next burst of information in pedagogic registers indicates the initiation of another exchange (i.e. a new questioning triad), establishing the periodicity of the discourse:

Dk1 [Teacher]: You can see very clearly that she has indicated...?
K2 [Student]: a paragraph?
K1 [Teacher]: Right.

You can see very clearly that she has indicated – a paragraph – Right

Finally, the *telos*, (the end, purpose or ultimate objective) of the exchange needs to be considered, with respect to the way it is designed to culminate purposefully. Once an exchange is initiated, we know how it is expected to finish – what its goal is. It is on this basis that we recognise the tracking and challenging moves noted above as interruptions. Thus Frank's K1 move has staying power, scoping over Rita's clarifying move and Frank's response; its purpose stays alive until Rita responds. Because it maps over several moves this teleological aspect of the exchange can be treated as prosodic, establishing the domain through which the exchange unfolds:

2 This pattern is related to Berry's proposition base ^ proposition completion ^ proposition support structure (pb ^ pc ^ ps).

K1 [Frank]: ...I don't think I can bear it any longer.
cl [Rita]: Oh, can't bear what Frank?
rcl [Frank]: You, my dear. You.
K2f [Rita]: Yeah, Yeah.



In summary, it seems possible to factor out 4 complementary structural motifs contributing to Ventola's exchange formula – the orbital motif of obligatory and optional moves, the serial motif of turn taking, the periodic motif of an initial burst then wane of information, and the prosodic motif of telos consummating resolution. Recognition of these motifs raises questions about the adequacy of Ventola's formula, and of simpler formulae – for example the variations on Initiation ^ Response ^ (Feedback) structure associated with Birmingham research, or the adjacency pair of conversational analysis. Perhaps one factor that makes these formulae more plausible than they deserve is the way in which particular, periodic and prosodic structures recurrently map onto one another in certain registers. Canonical adjacency pairs for example map a single move onto a single turn, and map an initiating informational peak onto an initiating prosodic launchpad. This kind of harmonious mapping is outlined in Fig. 2 for the following exchange:

[Frank]: Are you a good ladies hairdresser Rita?
[Rita]: Yeah, I am.

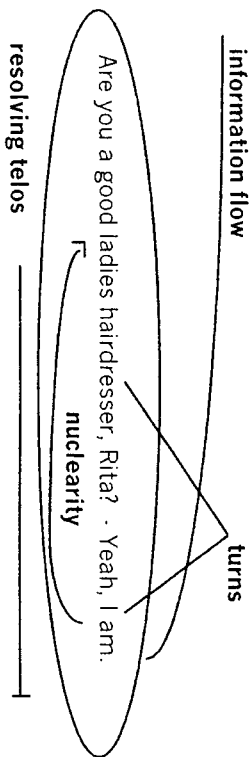


Fig. 2: Factoring out types of structure (canonical adjacency pair)

Alongside mapping of this kind, however, we need to consider exchanges in which structural motifs pull in different directions. With tracking and challenging moves, for example, serialisation falls out of step with prosody, since the second turn initiates a new adjacency pair instead of culminating one already under negotiation:

[Frank]: Would you like a drink?
[Rita]: What of?
[Frank]: Whisky.
[Rita]: Oh yeah.

To take another example, information flow may fall out of step with orbital structure. In classroom discourse, the K1 modally responsible for the proposition under negotiation contains no new information; its content seems too low:

DK1 [T]: ...you can see very clearly what she has indicated. Vu?
K2 [Vu]: A paragraph.
K1 [T]: Right.

Alternatively, information flow may fall out of alignment with prosody. In the clarification sequence interrupting culmination of the following exchange, the content of Frank's move is overwhelming – one indication that it should be heard as sarcasm:

K2 [F]: What is your name?
cl [R]: We first name?
rel [F]: Well, that would at least constitute some sort of start, wouldn't it?
K1 [R]: Rita.

Other examples would include more than one move per turn (in so-called monologue), more than one turn per move (for jointly constructed interact), serial re-initiations of DK1 moves as teachers move from student to student in search of a valid exchange culminating response, and so on. Historically, data of this kind has tended to frustrate the easy application of structural formulae to dialogue. But once we factor out exchange structure into structural motifs, it is easier to ask questions about why the formulae fail. Instead of giving up or complexifying formulae to the point where generalising insight is lost, we can reason about how orbital, serial, periodic and prosodic structure may pull at times in different directions, in relation to the register and speakers' local needs. Perhaps we can work towards proposing styles of harmonious and dissonant mapping of these

structural tiers, proceeding with caution on a register by register basis to see if generalised³ patterns of mapping become clear.

5. Interpersonal Telos

Above, prosodic structure was associated with the telos of the exchange – its global purpose in the interaction at hand. The domain of this telos defines the boundaries of an exchange, and so the way it is established grammatically across languages demands close scrutiny. We'll concentrate on English here; for work on other languages see Caffarel et al. (in press), Martin (in press).

5.1. Mood Telos

For English, Halliday (1994) anchors one source of interpersonal telos in what he calls the Mood function, including the Subject, Finite, and Modal Adjuncts. The presence and sequence of the Subject and Finite functions establish basic MOOD options:

	Mood	Residue	Mood tag
declarative	You're	coming in	aren't you?
interrogative	Are you	coming in	[are you?] ⁴
imperative	-	Come in	won't you?

The Finite and Modal Adjuncts (realising tense or modality, and polarity) establish the arguability of the clause. Negotiating information involves scales of probability and usability (modalisation of propositions):

value	probability	usability
[positive]	[is]	[does]
high	must certainly	must always
median	would probably	would usually
low	might possibly	might sometimes
[negative]	[isn't]	[doesn't]

Negotiating goods and services involves scales of inclination and obligation (modulation of proposals):

³ As Suzanne Egins has stressed to me, we need to be prepared for the fact that harmonious mapping might mean quite different things in different registers. In pragmatic registers, for example, the goal is to close exchanges in order to resolve the purpose of the genre; in casual registers on the other hand the goal is to keep talking, to avoid embarrassing silences – so prolonging exchanges is critical.

⁴ A grammatical tag in Australian English, and some in British dialects I am told.

value	inclination	obligation
[positive]	[will]	[do]
high	must, be determined to	must, be required to
median	will, be keen to	will, be supposed to
low	may, be willing to	may, be allowed to
[negative]	[won't]	[don't]

In addition Halliday notes the elaboration of this meaning potential through grammatical metaphors of mood (indirect speech acts) and of modality. The mood metaphors allow for the alternative realisations of the K2 move in the following K2/K1 exchange (grammaticalised congruently as wh- interrogative, metaphorically as declarative or interrogative):

Information question	Unmarked realisation	Mood metaphor
wh- interrogative:	What is your name? – Rita.	And you are? – Rita.
declarative		Tell me your name. – Rita.
imperative		

Modality metaphors allow for explicitly subjective and objective realisations of modalisation and modulation, illustrated below for probability and obligation:

Probability	Unmarked realisation	Modalisation metaphor
modalise:	I can't bear it, can I?	I don't think I can bear it, can I?
subjectivity		It's not likely I can bear it, can I?
objectivity		

Obligation	Unmarked realisation	Modulation metaphor
modulate:	You should get it fixed.	I'd like you to get it fixed.
subjectivity		It's advisable you get it fixed.
objectivity		

The grammar of MOOD, MODALITY and interpersonal metaphor combine with KEY (intonation), giving rise to a vast resource for launching Mood telos and thus defining a vast range of culminations for an exchange (as exemplified in Halliday (1982) and Martin (1995c)). The following exchanges compliantly resolve as the selections from these systems would predict:

- [Frank]: Are you a good ladies hairdresser Rita?
- [Rita]: Yeah, I am.
- [Frank]: Are you sure you're serious about wanting to learn?
- [Rita]: I'm dead serious.

- [Rita]: That's a nice picture, isn't it Frank?
- [Frank]: Uh yes, I suppose it is.

Note however that the modality metaphors underlined in the two preceding examples do introduce an 'extra' Mood function (Subject and Finite), by way of elaborating the meaning potential of the proposition under negotiation. As metaphor, this Mood function retains something of its negotiating potential – allowing for Mood play, which puts the intended trajectory of the negotiation at risk:

- [Frank]: What do you mean am I determined to go to the pub? I don't need determination to get me into a pub. (Russell 1985: 2)
- [Frank]: ...but, uh, yes, it is, I suppose so.
- [Rita]: Well, there's no suppose about it.
- [Watson]: I'm inclined to think...
- [Holmes]: I should do so. (Doyle 1981: 769)
- [colleague]: I was wondering if I could have... (in bakeshop)
- [server]: Why do you wonder, it's right there in front of you.

Mood telos is even more at risk where non-metaphorical Mood functions are introduced into the domain of an exchange. Ventola (1987) for example allows for the expansion of moves via clause complexing (clause serialisation). Expansions of this kind are underlined in the following examples:

- K1 [R]: It's very erotic.
- K2F [F]: Actually I don't think I've looked at that picture in 10 years.
- x2 but, uh, yes, it is, I suppose so.
- A2 [F]: Would you like to borrow it? (Rita is holding a book)
- A1 [R]: Yeah, all right.
- +2 I'll look after it for you.
- x3(xba) If I pack the course in, I'll post it back. (putting book in bag)

With the second example, Frank in fact responds as if the expansion were better treated as initiating a new exchange (thus the conflated A1/K1 move analysis below):

- [Frank]: Would you like to borrow it?
- [Rita]: Yeah, all right.
- I'll look after it for you.
- If I pack the course in, I'll post it back. [A1/K1]
- Pack it in.
- You haven't even started yet.

[Rita]: Why would you pack it in?
Well, I just might, you know.
Might think it was a soft idea.

In a similar way, Rita responds to Frank's challenge below as if it were a genuine question, negotiating a new proposition (the conflated ch/K2 move below):

[Rita]: Well, you know, when do you actually start teaching me like?
[Frank]: What can I teach you? [ch/K2]
[Rita]: Everything.
[Frank]: You want a lot and I can't give it.

What these interpersonal metaphors, move expansions and challenging moves underline is the power of Mood functions to shape the domain of an exchange, whether they were actually intended to generate a new direction of negotiation or not. In spite of this, where a Mood element functions in the service of another exchange, it seems a marked option to take it up and negotiate it in its own right. The prosodic domain of the exchange is in some sense derailed, with new telos replacing old. Reasoning along these lines, Mood telos can be read as projecting closure for the exchange, it grammaticalises a culmination – defines an end.

5.2. Appraisal Telos

For scholars researching pragmatic registers (classroom discourse, service encounters, appointment making, interrogation, business meetings etc.), focussing on Mood governed closure seems a worthwhile goal. Exchanges in discourse of this kind are designed to get somewhere – to resolve the genre at hand. With casual registers on the other hand, where keeping talking and avoiding embarrassing silence is an important task, focussing on closure is a less appropriate, and ultimately frustrating task. Consider the following dinner party data from Eggins, featuring friends in their 20s (Eggins and Slade 1997: 171):

- 9 Fay You met his sister that night we were doing the cutting and pasting up.
D'you remember?
10 Nick Oh yea.
== You met Jill.
11 David == Oh yea.
12 Fay That's David's sister.
13 Liz Oh night.
14 Fay Jill.

15 David Jill's very bright actually.
she's very good.
16 Fay She's extremely == bright
17 David == Academ – academically she's probably brighter than David...
David's always precocious with his...

- 18 Nick The only sixteen year old superstar () arrives in Sydney to ()
and straight into the mandies
19 Fay Straight into the what?
20 David Mandies. [laughs]
He was a good boy
but just no tolerance for the alcohol.
I've pulled him out of so many fights
it's ridiculous.

Eggins divides this dialogue into two exchanges (9–14 and 15–20), partly on the basis of audience configuration. The first exchange is oriented to bringing Liz into the picture, after which David, Fay and Nick carry on with their discussion of their absent friend David Allenby. Obviously this means including several distinct Mood functions in each exchange; but for Eggins, if each of these were taken as initiating a new exchange, the interactional dynamics of part of the conversation would be obscured.

Once we turn from addressing the need to close exchanges to the need to keep going, our focus on interpersonal telos needs to shift as well. Instead of asking what it is about an exchange that leads to culmination, we need to ask what it is that encourages more talk. Consider now the following conversation between parents and their son, sitting in their car on a street next to the son's university (Eggins and Slade 1997: 67–68):

- 1 Brad Look. [Mum Fran 54, Dad Dave 57, son Brad 27]
See that guy.
2 Fran He plays the double bass.
Does he?
3 Brad In the orchestra.
He's a funny bastard
and his wife's a German
and she's insane.
[coughs]
4 NV He's funny
== and she's insane?
5 Brad == All Germans are in=sane.
6 Dave == You know...
You know a lot of funny people don't you Brad?
7 Brad Yeah.
everyone at Uni is ==
8 Dave == They're ALL mad ==
9 Brad == They're all FREAKS
10 Dave Except you.
11 Brad Yeah.
12 Fran And they're all coming home now.
13 Brad Waddya mean?
Coming, oh
14 Fran Like, they're coming up the hill are they?

- 15 Brad no, this...
For General Studies we've got this... tutor
and he's German
and he's insane.
-
- 16 Fran I didn't know
you had to do General Studies.
- 17 Brad Yeah, I
I got an exemption from == [noise of passing bus]
Bastards!
- 18 Fran Last year.
From half of it.
- 19 Brad When are you gonna do... all you odds 'n' sods subjects?
- 20 Dave Waddya mean "odds 'n' sods subjects"?
- 21 Brad Well, y'know, you can't just do languages can you?
- 22 Dave

In presenting this text I've highlighted the explicit evaluations. The text shifts from Brad's judgements about people to his father's evaluation of general subjects:

- He's a funny bastard
-
- When are you gonna do... all you odds 'n' sods subjects?

And where judging people, the text moves from considering individuals, to groups, and back to individuals again:

- and she's insane (that guy's wife)
-
- All Germans are insane.
-
- everyone at Uni is ... They're all FREAKS
-
- and he's insane (German tutor)

It would appear from examples of this kind that one major source of propulsion in casual conversation is evaluation. How Brad feels about people keeps the first phase of this dialogue going; and the next phase then takes off around the value of his courses.

Space precludes consideration of an explicit framework for analysing evaluation here (for outlines of appraisal systems see Eggins and Slade (1997), Martin (1997, 2000)). The three key lexical systems are illustrated below – AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION (akin to emotion, ethics and aesthetics in more traditional parlance):

- AFFECT (emotions; reacting to behaviour, text/process, phenomena)
Rita: I love this room. I love the view from this window. Do you like it?

Frank: I don't often consider it actually.

JUDGEMENT (ethics; evaluating behaviour)

Frank: You want a lot and I can't give it. Between you, and me, and the walls, actually I am an appalling teacher. That's all right most of the time. Appalling teaching is quite in order for most of my appalling students. But it is not good enough for you young woman.

APPRECIATION (aesthetics; evaluating text/process, phenomena)

Rita: Rita Mae Brown, who wrote 'Rubyfruit Jungle'. Haven't... haven't you read it?

Frank: No.

Rita: It's a fantastic book, you know. Do you want to lend it?

Frank: Ah yes.

Rita: Here.

Frank: Yes. Well, thank-you very much.

Rita: That's okay.

In these terms, Brad kept the first phase of conversation going by judging people as not normal in some respect (*funny, insane, mad, freaks*). The same strategy is used by David, Fay and Nick to propel dialogue as they elaborate on the social behaviour of their absent friend (who talks a lot, perhaps too much, is naughty, anti-social and has a drinking problem):

- 1 David This conversation needs Allenby. [capacity]⁵
- 2 Fay Oh he's in London
- 3 Nick so what can we do?
We don't want – [capacity]
we don't need Allenby in the bloody conversation. [capacity]
- 4 Fay 'Cause all you'd get is him bloody raving on. [tenacity]
[to Liz] He's a bridge player, a naughty bridge player. [propriety]
He gets banned from everywhere [tenacity]
because of this antisocial or drunken behaviour. [propriety]
And he just yap yap yaps all the time. [tenacity]
- 5 Nick
-
- 6 David S'pose he gives you a hard time Nick? [propriety]
- 7 Nick Oh, I like David a lot
- 8 Fay Still but
He has a very short fuse with alcohol. [propriety]

In another of Eggins' texts, workmates (aged 35–55) use a different set of resources to keep talking about a woman one of them has met. Whereas the men above were evaluated in terms of judgements about their character, these blokes

5 For the subcategories of judgement and appraisal used in this paper see Eggins and Slade 1997, Martin 1997, 2000.

objectify the woman in terms of appreciations of her physical attributes (in a ritual gendering of appraisal behaviour – see Eggins and Slade for discussion).

- 11 John Well I went there
and this eh this pretty girl come in. [reaction]
She's beautiful. [reaction]
[eating] What she said?
12 Steve She said
13 John "come in."
Started to talk, you know?
She's Italian.
Only this big -[reaction]
she had beautiful eyes, male. [reaction]
My wife next me,
she's only talking to me.
NV All [laughter]

A fuller version of the Allenby text is presented below to illustrate something of the rhetoric of more extended evaluative sequences (with explicit evaluation highlighted). Taking Eggins' exchange boundaries as a guideline, the text opens by judging Allenby's conversational skills and drinking, shifts to judging Nick's sensitivity, moves on to judgements of Allenby's sister's intelligence, bridging back to Allenby's intelligence and drug-taking, and then moves on to judgements about Allenby's skill as a semi-professional bridge player. In a sense, the dialogue unfolds ideationally as a kind of scaffolding for evaluation; aligning opinions and exploring differences around judgements of behaviour is what the conversation is about:

- 1 David This conversation needs Allenby.
2 Fay Oh he's in London
so what can we do?
3 Nick We don't want -
we don't need Allenby in the bloody conversation.
'Cause all you'd get is = him bloody raving on.
4 Fay [to Liz] = He's a bridge player, a naughty bridge player.
He gets banned from everywhere
because of this antisocial or drunken behaviour.
5 Nick And he just yap yap yaps all the time.

6 David S'pose he gives you a hard time Nick?
7 Nick Oh, I like David a lot
Still but
8 Fay He has a very short fuse with alcohol.
[10 sec pause...]
9 Fay You met his sister that night we were doing the cutting and pasting up.
D'you remember?

- 10 Nick Oh yea.
= You met Jill.
11 David = Oh yea.
12 Fay That's David's sister.
13 Liz Oh right.
14 Fay Jill

15 David Jill's very bright actually.
she's very good.
16 Fay She's extremely = bright
17 David = Academ – academically she's probably brighter than David...
David's always precocious with his...
The only sixteen year old superstar () arrives in Sydney to ()
and straight into the mandies
Straight into the what?
18 Nick Mandies. [laughs]
19 Fay He was a good boy
20 David but just no tolerance for the alcohol.
I've pulled him out of so many fights
it's ridiculous.

21 At least he's doing well -
at least he's doing well in London.
He's cleaning them up
22 Nick ()
23 David Well, he rang Roman -
he rang Roman a week ago
24 Nick Did he?
I didn't know that.

5.3. Mood vs Appraisal Telos

Drawing the discussion together at this point, perhaps what we are looking at here is a complementarity of interpersonal resources for closure and expansion. Mood telos grammaticalises closure, projecting culmination across the domain of the exchange:

- [Frank]: K2 Are you sure you're serious about wanting to learn?
[Rita]: K1 I'm dead serious.

Appraisal telos on the other hand lexicalises the potential for expansion, seeding the proliferation of evaluation which might ensue:

- [Frank]: Are you sure you're serious about wanting to learn?
[Rita]: I'm dead serious.
Yeah, huh look I know I take the piss and that.
But that's only because I'm not ... well you know like confident like.

But I mean I want to be (confident).
Honest (I want to be confident).

This complementarity is configured as an image in Fig. 3, which attempts to outline the way in which an exchange engenders closure with respect to Mood at the same time as it enables expansion around evaluation.

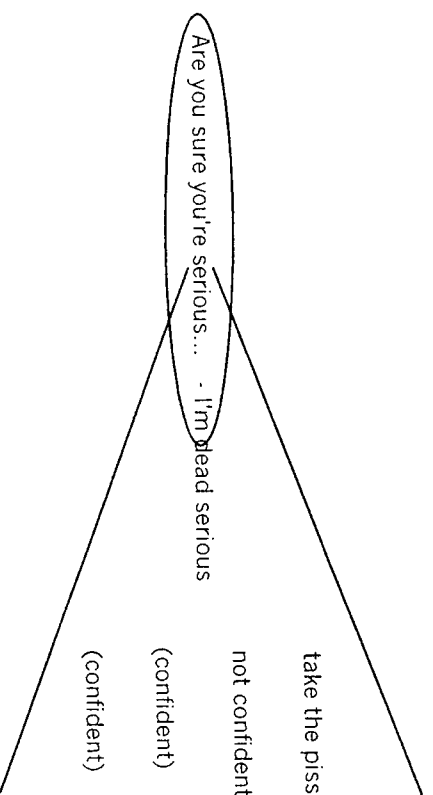


Fig. 3: Complementarity of Mood and appraisal telos (judging confidence)

Here's another example from the Allenby text. In a sense, Fay allows for closure of David's initiation by replaying his Mood function and reinforcing his evaluation:

David	K1	<u>Jill's</u> very bright actually; she's very good.
Fay	K2f	<u>She's</u> extremely bright

But David carries on, comparing Jill to David and then moving on to further evaluate David's strengths and weaknesses:

David	Jill's <u>very bright</u> actually; she's <u>very good</u> .
Fay	She's <u>extremely bright</u>
David	Academ - academically she's probably <u>brighter than David</u>

David's Fay's complementarity of Mood & appraisal telos
just outlined, ~~what~~ might well ask about their continuity – in what senses are these two faces of a more generalised telos we might want to recognise as interpersonal? Halliday's work on MOOD, MODALITY and interpersonal metaphor

provide the insight here (Halliday (1994), Martin (1992b, 1995b); see also Lemke (1998)). Beginning with propositions, we can easily construct a series of realisations for both probability and usability which begins with congruent realisations and pushes through metaphorical ones towards lexis which is clearly appraising in nature. In this way modalisations of probability in Mood can be related to lexicalised judgements of veracity:

probability	
He's naughty.	
He's certainly naughty.	
It's certain he's naughty.	
It's true he's naughty.	
It's true, honest, credible, authentic, bogus etc.	[judgement: veracity]

Similarly, modalities of usability can be related to judgements of normality:

usability	
He's naughty.	
He's often naughty.	
It's usual for him to be naughty.	
It's normal for him to be naughty.	
It's normal, average, fashionable, peculiar, odd etc.	[judgement: normality]

For proposals, modulations of inclination can be related to lexicalised affect:

inclination	
I'll go.	
I'm willing to go.	
I'd be delighted to go.	
I'd be rapt to go.	
I'd be excited, sad, proud, comfortable, uneasy etc.	[affect]

And modulations of obligation can be related to lexicalised judgements and appreciations:

obligation	
Go.	
You should go.	
You're supposed to go.	
It's expected you'll go.	
It'd be clever for you to go.	
It'd be brave, honest, rash, sensitive, unfair etc. ...	[judgement: capacity]
It'd be innovative, challenging, thought provoking etc. ...	[judgement: various]
	[appreciation]

Reasoning along these lines, we can perhaps position Mood telos and appraisal telos on a cline, with grammaticalised realisations at one end and lexicalised

realisations at the other – and with Halliday's modality metaphors construing meaning in between.

6. Reconciliation

In orienting this paper, I noted my concern with two disjunctions – the conative/expressive and the pragmatic/casual. In response, I've explored exchange structure from the perspectives of types of structure, and appraisal.

Extending Berry, I've suggested that the exchange can usefully be factored out as *tiets* of orbital, serial, periodic and prosodic structure, mapped onto one another in various ways. To the extent that this array of readings proves productive, we should perhaps be careful of theories that prescribe one kind of structure for dialogue analysis (e.g. the preoccupation with seriality in conversational analysis) – preferring theories with bi/tri/multinocular vision. And, we should also be careful of analyses that privilege specific mappings of *tiets* by 'reducing' the exchange to a single layer of structural functions (e.g. Birmingham research and their $I \wedge (R/I) \wedge R \wedge (F^n)$ structure potential). It may well prove more constructive to explore types of structure and their interdependencies as a way of understanding differences among dialogic registers.

Extending Eggins, I've suggested that two relatively distinct pulses of *telos* can be posited for an exchange – **Mood telos** and **appraisal telos**. Mood telos precipitates closure, with respect to Halliday's Mood function; appraisal telos on the other hand anticipates expansion, with respect to the attitudes available for negotiation (as speakers align and individuate by way of negotiating solidarity relations). More generally, we can interpret Mood telos as the grammatical face of appraisal telos, or alternatively, appraisal telos as the lexical face of Mood. Seen in this light, Mood telos suits pragmatic registers, where hegemonic institutional pressures favour non-negotiable solidarity; whereas appraisal telos suits casual registers, where solidarity relations are put at risk.

On the basis of these suggestions, I'd like to see dialogue analysis move into a much more fertile dialectic with both lexicogrammar and social context, moving beyond forms, and on to meaning as function in context – so that we can better understand language as a resource for negotiating social relations. It seems to me that this is especially important in relation to casual registers, which ideologically speaking are anything but 'casual' as they coercively dissemble the many prejudices tearing apart our world at the same time as they generate and consolidate our energy for social change!

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Michael Toolan

Towards a Simple Schema of Speech Moves

1. Introduction

Many discourse analysts are deeply sceptical of speech-act or speech-move schemas, regarding them as unreliable, partial, context-insensitive, disproportionately 'top-down', oriented to speaker-intention but unable to track revised intentions, and so on (see, as representative of discourse linguists' criticisms of speech act theory, those of Eggins and Slade 1997 and Lesser and Milroy 1993). My present proposals are at variance with the speech-act tradition which aimed to specify the constitutive rules for producing, say, a promise. At the same time categorising some things as questions, others as requests, and so on, seems a necessity at some level of processing – and if it could never be done, with any degree of reliability, we could never elicit information from each other, or get others to do things. But we do; so requests and informs surely exist, and can usually reliably be recognised and oriented to by integrated participants in real contexts of engagement. What we may argue about, however, is the degree to which participants' reliable recognition of requests, informs, etc., draws on, is guided by, or even is 'governed' by, the presence of this signifying formal device or element or that confirmatory sequential factor. The Integrationist and reflexivity-attentive tradition (Harris 1998; Harris and Wolf 1998) will also draw one to ask: what are we *doing* when we classify certain moves as *questions*, *undertakings*, and so on?

I will give three simple examples why a workable basic categorisation of communicational moves, and further to that a workable of move-types, is necessary. Though not a random sample, each of these seems representative of recent work which both depends to a degree on act-categorisation, and may be undermined by the uncertainty of the very categorisation it would hope to be able to invoke.

Example 1: Identifying Mitigated Directives in Doctor-Patient

Discourse

Why the reliable identification of speech-act or speech-move categories remains in my view a pressing requirement in linguistically-minded discourse analysis is I think indirectly highlighted by an interesting recent paper (Skelton and Hobbs 1999) that appeared in the February 1999 issue of the *British Medical Journal*.